Constructive Workers and Government

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HARIJAN

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: K. G. MASHRUWALA

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THE FORTHCOMING PACIFIST MEETING

Readers are aware of the proposed World Pacifist Meeting in December next partly at Santiniketan and partly at Sevagram. It will be a small assembly not of rich or political magnates, but of people who have worked and suffered for the cause of peace and abolition of War, and have been working for building up a non-violent social order singly or in international fellowships. They come from various parts of the world. The hardships and persecutions which our own *satyagrahis* suffered pale into insignificance before what some of them had to undergo during the two World Wars. For instance, take the story of Heinrich Kraschutzki which has just appeared in several papers. He was a German teacher and also edited a pacifist newspaper before Hitler had come into power. Then, long before the second World War had begun, he had to escape to Spain in order to avoid persecution by the Nazis. There, too, when the Spanish Civil War began, on the suggestion of the German Consul in Spain, he was imprisoned by Franco's government and sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment. His wife and four children were expelled from Spain and had to return to Germany. In order to avoid being separated from the children, who would have been taken away from her to be brought up as Nazis, the husband had advised the wife that she should take a divorce on reaching Germany. This was granted. After the end of the War, he could return to Germany and then he remarried her after nine years. This teacher is one of the visitors at the next Conference. There are others with similar experiences.

A batch has already started by steamer. It includes among others our old friends, Richard Gregg (author of *The Power of Non-violence, A Discipline for Non-violence, Economics of Khaddar*, etc.) and Reginald Reynolds. Both of them had been in India and lived with Gandhiji at Sabarmati. It was through Reginald Reynolds that Gandhiji had delivered his famous letter to Lord Irwin (now Halifax) before starting the Salt Satyagraha.

Most of these visitors are poor men, living and working among common people as teachers or social workers, more or less like our own workers of the Charkha Sangh, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Adivasi Sangh, Talimi Sangh or the old Gandhi Seva Sangh. They do not earn enough to meet their travelling expenses for a conference, etc. and have to be helped by friends or some funds.

They wanted to hold a conference in India while Gandhiji was still alive, so that they could receive Gandhiji's guidance in the cause of World Peace. Gandhiji encouraged the idea but wanted them to wait till India gained independence. Unfortunately Gandhiji was not allowed to survive independence long. The promoters did not think it right to abandon the idea of the conference on account of Gandhiji's death. I was one of those who felt doubtful about the usefulness of the conference without Gandhiji. What have *we* got, I said, to offer by way of guidance to these foreign workers who have most of them suffered, far more terribly than we have, for the sake of their conscience? If they come here to seek guidance from us, we are not competent for that. But the line on which the promoters and visitors thought was different. "We all are seekers now," they said, "we neither come to teach you, nor to get guidance from you; but just to exchange our thoughts and experiences with yours, and see if our collective deliberation will bring some light to us all." I had no answer to this plea.

But it requires funds to hold a conference even of a couple of hundred people, about a quarter of whom are to come from various countries of the world, and to stay and move about in our country for a month at least. The estimate of expenses is Rs. 2½ *lakhs*. The organizers have hitherto tried to collect the money by approaching a few moneyed people in the hope that that way was easier. But it seems that the appeal to them has not been very successful. Somehow the Pacifist meeting idea does not find favour in influential circles. The result is that not more than Rs. 50,000 have so far been collected and perhaps a large part of it has been already spent. The cause of Peace is essentially the cause of the middle classes and the masses. It is one of the items of the constructive programme and like all other items needs the support of the ordinary people. Small donations of hundreds of people with their fives, tens or even ones will support the movement better than a *lakh* from a single patron.

If readers interested in the cause of Peace and sympathizing with the idea of this meeting,

help it with their small subscriptions, the organizers will feel greatly relieved. The address to which such donations are to be sent is: Treasurer, World Pacifist Meeting, 1 Upper Wood Street, Calcutta.

Wardha, 25-10-'49 K. G. MASHRUWALA

PROBLEM OF DISPLACED HARIJANS

As a result of the tragic events which followed the partition, the Harijans of the Punjab, the N. W. F. Province and Sind passed through a terrible time. I had a first-hand impression of their plight when I attended to evacuation of some groups from Multan, Montgomery and Lahore districts in April 1948. They had been oppressed in so many ways by *savarna* Hindus. Yet they trekked to the Indian Dominion for the sake of Hinduism, the religion of their birth, from which they would not be weaned by the temptations offered by proselytizers.

Partition of the country found the Harijans as the worst sufferers on either side of divided India. Lacs of them had migrated from the West Punjab, Sind and the N. W. F. Province. Lacs more were evacuated much later than the mass exodus. Their flow into the Indian Dominion continued almost ceaselessly.

The Government of India, evidently inspired by the late Mahatma Gandhi, attached a section, namely the Harijan Section, to the Ministry of (Relief and) Rehabilitation, to look after the relief and rehabilitation of the Harijan refugees, now called "displaced persons". Fittingly, Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, who was for long closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi in his India-wide Harijan uplift work, was appointed the Honorary Head of the Harijan Section. Shri Sevakram Karamchand, a member of the Servants of People's Society, who had acted as the Secretary of the Sind Harijan Sevak Sangh for many years, was appointed the Honorary Director of the Section. The Harijan Section spread a net-work of social workers and its officers in different parts of India. I worked first as a social worker and then as an officer in the Section and thereby came into close touch with the Harijans, whether displaced persons or others, in many provinces and States of India. 15,000 agriculturist Harijan refugees were resettled on land in Gang Canal Colony, Bikaner. Thousands of Harijans were rehabilitated on land in Junagarh, Cutch, Ajmer, Beawar, Matsya Union, Bombay, etc. Multi-purpose and other co-operative societies were formed by the displaced Harijans in almost every place under the guidance of social workers of the Harijan Section. Thousands were secured employment as labourers on construction works or as sweepers and also admitted in training centres as apprentices. Colonies were constructed for them at Ahmedabad, Junagarh and Beribander.

A colony consisting of 500 quarters was built by the Government of India through the Harijan Section in Karol Bagh. When 268 quarters were constructed, they were inhabited by displaced Harijans, who formed themselves into a multi-purpose co-operative society. The opening ceremony of the colony was performed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, on the 8th February. The Harijans, more than 10,000 of whom had gathered, were heartened to hear the Prime Minister declare that the Government's aim was to put an end to the disabilities suffered by the Harijans. He aptly criticized the idea that some kinds of work were higher or lower than others. Pandit Nehru advised the Harijans to take to industry in addition to agriculture.

But, as emphasized by Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru in her address, much more was yet to be done for the displaced Harijans. Whereas 3,50,000 Harijans were evacuated from the West Punjab, 1,50,000 from Sind and 30,000 from Bhawalpur and the N. W. F. P., there were still 50,000 Harijans in the West Punjab, about 2 lacs in Sind and a few thousands in Bhawalpur and the N. W. F. Province. Lacs of displaced Harijans are yet to be rehabilitated on land and in industrial and other occupations. The problem is of immense dimensions and has to be tackled both by Government and well known public bodies like the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh, which has been entrusted with the work of rehabilitation of displaced Harijans from 1 June, 1949 in place of the said Harijan Section.

Untouchability has been and continues to be the bane of Hinduism. Mahatma Gandhi was keenly conscious of this when he said, "Hinduism dies if untouchability lives." He did not merely say these forceful words, but he did all that a leader of his eminence and foresight could do to remove this blot from the surface of India. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in the course of the above-quoted speech that "something had to be done to make up for centuries of social tyranny to which they (the Harijans) had been subjected." In the course of centuries, the Buddha, Kabir, Tulsidas, Ramanuja and other great leaders of thought had defied untouchability, but the evil continued to sap the vitality of Hindu society. It is now left to the leaders of Free India to purge this evil from the face of Free India. Legislation has been enacted in this behalf. It is right that these laws are enforced by the Central and Provincial Governments where the caste Hindus may not brook the annihilation of the disabilities of the Harijans. The removal of social disabilities of the Harijans cannot and must not wait any longer in Free India, the leading nation of the East, which stands for equality, peace and freedom.

It is gratifying to note that the social barriers that have existed between the caste Hindus and the Harijans are disappearing day by day. The slums in which the *chamars*, the *chuharas* and other Harijans lead a dirty, segregated existence have to be cleared. In the above mentioned Harijan Colony of Delhi, modern

conveniences like flush-system latrines, wash basins and underground drainage have been provided. The resident Harijans are learning to be cleaner and smart. They flock to the Adult Education Centre opened by the Delhi Municipal Committee in the Colony where they participate in many social activities. They have formed themselves into a multi-purpose co-operative society in which they have pooled their resources and through which they secure better profits for their products. The fact that social workers, mostly caste Hindus, live among them in the quarters takes away from them any feeling of segregation which they might have had before. The need of the day is that more and more such colonies must be erected everywhere for the Harijans side by side with a systematic clearance of slums in the suburbs of towns inhabited by them.

There is a mushroom growth of Harijan *Sudhar* (Uplift) Organizations which sail under one banner or the other. There exist petty rivalries among these bodies. These must cease. What is proper is that they should act in the closest liaison with the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh, which is so ably organized at its Delhi headquarters by Shri A. V. Thakkar, General Secretary, and Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, Vice-President of the Sangh, ever since 1935. They have dedicated their lives to the service of the Harijans in the wake of Mahatma Gandhi. The well-known activities of persons like these and Acharya Vinoba Bhave and so many others dedicated to the service of the Harijans make one believe that the sins of caste-conscious Hindus are being atoned for in some measure by the *tapasya* of services of these selfless servants of society. It was due to the labours of Shri Vinoba Bhave that the Harijans of Bikaner were able to realize their desire to enter and worship in the Lakshmi Temple of Bikaner.

In a changing India Harijans must feel confident of better future. They and their students and educated young men are receiving special concessions from the Government and this will be done till their disabilities are entirely removed. Then no more of these protective measures will be needed or desired by them. The dream of Gandhiji who called himself a Harijan and chose the title of his paper accordingly will be realized in the not distant future.

Somnath Dhar

Bee-keeping Training Class

The Village Industries Committee, Bombay will start a Bee-keeping Class at Mahabaleshwar from 1st December 1949. Those who desire to join the class should apply to the undersigned for details with two-anna postage stamps.

Poona, 20-10-'49

S. G. SHENDE
Regional Organizer,
Village Industries Committee,
Maharashtra Region, Poona 5.

DIGNITY OF MAN

Among the many fundamental contributions Gandhiji made to uplift mankind, not the least is the conferring of a unique dignity on man.

For ages honour and status were the attributes of men of wealth and circumstances. The lowest among men, if he came by material possessions, by hook or by crook, no questions were asked but was accorded first rank in society. Peerages were conferred, decorations were showered and all knees bowed to such.

Under the influence of such ideals slave economy flourished. Work was looked down upon, while indulgence held sway. In a society founded on such valuations, man was not honoured for what he was but for the feathers he wore on his head or for the garland of skulls round his neck or for the barbaric splendour of the resplendent robes or the glamour and luxury of his dwelling place. Imperialisms of all kinds have their origin in such ideals. Even in our land today there are persons who hold such caparisoning and upholstery essential for maintaining dignity. Where such valuations prevail, work is at a discount, the weak labour for the well-being of the mighty.

With the advent of the machine-age, man lost his position even as a worker. He yielded place to the machine. His purpose in life was to tend machines. In a land suffering from shortage of labour, something had to be done to make such work honourable. Hence arose the movement in the U.S.A. to dignify labour. Yet man had no attribute of his own but his capacity to produce material things.

It fell to Gandhiji to discover that work had two aspects — its power to develop man and afford an outlet for the expression of his personality. Work did not confer dignity on the divine image. Nor were material possessions requisite to obtain honour and status. A new code of values was the result. Under this, work was respected according to the worker's character and personality. Scavenging could be the noblest of professions and the pursuit of law the meanest of criminal ventures, according to the motives of the actors. This code conferred dignity on man himself, apart from his environment, birth, or material circumstance. So that even the poorest in the land can enjoy a status equal to that of the highest provided the needed character and personality were present, thus bringing about an equality of status in this class-, colour-, caste-ridden world. This is indeed true democracy that restores to every human being a freedom that politics cannot give and a status no wealth can buy. May we all attain such position through our service to the needy and love of fellowmen.

J. C. KUMARAPPA

HARIJAN

November 6 1949

CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS AND GOVERNMENT

A colleague writes:

"I read with the attention it deserves Shri Pyarelal's note in the *Harijan* dated 16-10-'48 under the caption *Our Most Precious Legacy*. What is he exactly driving at? Does he mean to say that the constructive workers have no right to expect help from the Government and that the Congress Government has no responsibility to render help for the promotion of the constructive programme? He says, 'It is up to the constructive workers to show that constructive activity can be harnessed to provide an answer to the various problems that confront the country today as nothing else can.' Has not Gandhiji already proved it in theory at least? Had he not done so, he had no right to appeal to the country to accept it. To ask the constructive workers not to depend upon government help is a counsel of perfection. Why do people depend upon the government for anything at all? Why can't they rely on self-help alone? This is what is called 'enlightened anarchy' — to eliminate the government from every field of public activity and service. There is no use preaching impracticable ideals. To drink 6 lb. of milk every day is very healthy. You advise people to do so. For obvious reasons they are unable to do so. You blame them for disobeying your advice. What Shri Pyarelal has done through the note is something akin to this. On a vast scale we have to deal with common human material. If people may seek police help, military help and a hundred other kinds of help from government, they may also seek help for their constructive programme and remain or continue without suffering any special deterioration on that account.

"I should like to hear your views in this matter, if possible, through the *Harijan*."

I fully endorse Shri Pyarelal's exhortation. It does not mean that the constructive workers must not take any government or Congress help, if available, or co-operate with them for promoting the constructive programme. But they must not make themselves and their activities dependent upon government aid. The moment they lose their self-confidence, initiative and direct reliance upon the people, whether for working out the programme or for funds, they will lose their own vitality and strength. The Government as at present constituted cannot be whole-heartedly devoted to the policy of the constructive programme. It will encourage it only to the extent it is helpful to industrialism and foreign commerce. This cannot satisfy the constructive workers.

There is a lot of difference between 'enlightened anarchy' and the advice 'not to depend upon government'. Lokamanya Tilak taught the nation more than forty years ago the futility of petitioning and praying and begging for help, without creating sanctions. Gandhiji taught us the way of creating those sanctions. He prepared the nation through his constructive programmes which enabled him to create mass movements of the most effective type. If constructive workers want to serve the people and the Government and want the latter to serve the people, want the people's hardships to be removed, want justice to be done to the poor and the have-nots, want, say, to put an end to controls, corruption, bribery, unholy alliances whether of the commercial or political type, they cannot do it by simply writing, complaining or grumbling about these things. There should be proper sanctions and the sanctions can be created only by working among the people independently and devotedly, the social, ethical and economic items of the constructive programme. If we wish to save the country from violence and the repetition on a still larger scale the killings which the country went through for nearly two years, let it be realized that effective non-violent sanctions are the only way. The means will remain pure only to the extent constructive workers resist the temptation of not only capturing power for themselves but also of seeking large donations from government or individual donors. They must live and line up with the people and seek whatever help they need from the people, taking the help of government or large charities or donors only to the extent they are rendered voluntarily. This is the way, even though slow and long, of building up institutions, which wield power without assuming authority for themselves.

Look at the industrialists and bankers themselves. There are few, if any, industrialists or bankers or their representatives in any place of power. There are not even too many legislators of that class. And yet the Government is freely criticized as capitalist. This shows that it is possible to effectively control the Government without capturing office or even majority in the legislature. The sanction behind the power of the industrialists is their wealth and the articles of consumption which they produce. They are in a position to keep the whole country hungry and naked and make governments bankrupt, and so they are able to enforce their policies. The industrial labour has also to a certain extent created sanctions for themselves. The rich and the industrial labour are few and in concentrated areas and their ultimate weapon is violence and destruction. The villages must build up their own sanctions. The power is there, it has to be properly harnessed. It can be done only through the non-violent constructive programme.

Wardha, 22-10-'49 K. G. MASHRUWALA

By Mahatma Gandhi

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Its Meaning and Place

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GUARANTEES TO SERVICES

[The following are important portions of the speech of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the Constituent Assembly on the question of *Guarantees to Services*. — Ed.]

I am distressed that a senior Member like Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, a responsible Member of this House, who is the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly, considers and expresses the opinion that the members of the Services were carrying on a very difficult administration for the last two, three years and at the same time harbours the feeling that they are enemies of our country. If that is so, it was his business and the business of those people who think on those lines to move first a resolution to dispense with them and run the administration in vacuum — for there is no substitute of which he has thought of, except Congressmen or the Congress workers. I feel very sad that the very instruments from whom we have to take work, we have been continuously quarrelling with. If that is so, we are not doing service to the country. We are doing great disservice. Now, he made a point that this guarantee should not have been given. What was he doing all this while? To those people who think on those lines I say, this was not done in secret. No arrangement that was made with the British Government was done in secrecy, not done by an individual, but by the representatives, by all the duly recognized representatives of the nation. When Mr. Henderson came here to settle this question of the Services, he had long discussions with me. .... I had long negotiations and it was then a joint Government of the Muslims and the non-Muslims. It was an all-India Government at that time and these negotiations resulted in certain conclusions which were placed before the Cabinet — it was a joint Cabinet at the time — and they were accepted by them. Then those conclusions were sent to Parliament and they were accepted there. Many of the Europeans who were in the Services here have left now, but when the negotiations were going on, I told them to leave the case of Indians to us, that we shall deal with them as we deemed just, that they will trust us and we will trust them, and finally they agreed on certain conditions. Now, I wish to point out that hardly anybody raised any objection to the arrangements that we were making at that time, but if they had suspected us, then there was plenty of scope at that time for them to come out and get better terms from outside agencies. Even now, if you are not willing to keep them, find out your substitute and many of them will go; the best of them will go. I wish to assure you that I have worked with them during this difficult period — I am speaking with a sense of heavy responsibility — and I must confess that in point of patriotism, in point of loyalty, in point of sincerity and in point of ability, you cannot have a substitute. They are as good as ourselves, and to speak in disparaging terms in this House, in public and to criticize them in this manner is doing disservice to yourselves and to the country. This is my considered opinion.

Now, I will give you another series of facts which will convince you why guarantees were given. You had seen what was happening in the Punjab. In the five districts where havoc was being wrought, five British Officers were in power and nothing could be done. I tried to get the District Magistrate of Gurgaon transferred. I could not succeed, and the British officer there arrested leading Congressmen when they were not at fault and put them in jail as hostages. He had the cheek to write on the application presented to him by the President of the Bar Association there to the effect that those were innocent and they should not be arrested and that they should be released immediately, that those people were being kept as hostages! This is the way he was doing his business. I was shocked and I went to Gurgaon. I saw him coming on the way and I asked him, "Have you arrested people as hostages?" He said, "No, who told you?" Fortunately, I had the document with me on which he had made that endorsement, and I showed him the endorsement. He asked, "How did you get this?" I said, "That is not the question. Is this your endorsement or not?" After that I tried hard, I wrote to the then Governor of the Punjab, I pleaded with the Viceroy, but I found it difficult to remove him, and you know the havoc that was played in Gurgaon and these other districts. It was not in the Punjab alone; in other places also many such things were done. It was a time of touch and go and we would have lost India. Then we insisted that we had come to a stage when power must be transferred immediately, whatever happens, and then we decided to resign. It was at that time that Lord Mountbatten came. I give you this inner history which nobody knows; I agreed to Partition as a last resort, when we had reached a stage when we would have lost all. We had five or six members in the Government, the Muslim League members — they had already established themselves as members who had come to partition the country. At that stage we agreed to Partition; we decided that Partition could be agreed upon on the terms that the Punjab should be partitioned — they wanted the whole of it — that Bengal should be partitioned — they wanted Calcutta and the whole of it. Mr. Jinnah did not want a truncated Pakistan, but he had to swallow it. We said that these two provinces should be partitioned. I made a further condition that in two months' time power should be transferred and an Act should be passed by Parliament in that time, if it was guaranteed that the British Government would not interfere with the question of the Indian States. We said we will deal with that question; leave it to us; you take no sides. Let paramountcy

be dead ; you do not directly or indirectly try to revive it in any manner. You do not interfere. We shall settle our problem. The Princes are ours and we shall deal with them. On those conditions we agreed to partition and on those conditions the Bill in Parliament was passed in two months, agreed to by all the three parties. Show me any instance in the history of the British Parliament when such a Bill was passed in two months. But this was done. It gave birth to this Parliament. You now say, why did the leaders give these guarantees ? In order to allow you to have an opportunity to attack the leaders on this very point. What else ? You are responsible members of the Parliament of a huge country. The Leader of this Parliament has been invited to America, the highest honour that could be done to him. He is treated with great respect. They are giving him all honours. You here say, why did the leaders give these assurances ? Think of the past. Why do you forget it ? Have you read your own recent history ?

* * *

I do not defend the black-sheep ; they may be there. But are there not many honest people among them ? But what is the language that you are using ? I wish to record in this House that if during the last two or three years, most of the members of the Services had not behaved patriotically and with loyalty, the Union would have collapsed. Ask Dr. John Matthai. He is working for the last fortnight with them on the economic question. You may ask his opinion. You will find what he says about the Services. You ask the Premiers of all provinces. Is there any Premier in any province who is prepared to work without the Services ? He will immediately resign. He cannot manage. We had a small nucleus of a broken Service. With that bit of Service we have carried on a very difficult task. And if a responsible man speaks in this tone about these Services, he has to decide whether he has a substitute to propose and let him take the responsibility. This is not a Congress platform. It is said that we promised Rs. 500 for the Ministers in the Karachi resolution. There is a long distance between Karachi and Delhi today. It is a different thing. You want Rs. 45 a day free of income-tax. What is the use of talking about Rs. 500 today ? It is very wrong.

But I am prepared to admit that if the Indian Government is to be run today on the basis of Gandhian philosophy without an army, I am prepared to change the whole thing. You are today spending 160 to 170 crores of rupees per year on the Army. Are you going to change that set-up ? Tomorrow the whole of India will be run over from one end to the other, if you have not got a strong Army.

The Police which was broken has been brought to its proper level and is functioning fairly efficiently. The Heads of Departments of the Police in every province are covered under this guarantee. Are you going to change that ? Are you going to put your Congress volunteers as captains ? What is it that you propose to do ?

I am grieved to find that in a Parliament of this kind, Members, senior Members, speak in this strain. I would refer you to the Indian Independence Act which gave birth to this Parliament and you find that the guarantees have been included there. When the Indian Independence Act was to be passed in Parliament the draft was sent here. The leaders of the nation were called for ; the Cabinet was there, the Congress President was there, your President was there and your Leader today was there. Mahatma Gandhi was also present. Every section was scrutinized and the draft was approved. After that it was passed in Parliament. Now, these guarantees were circulated before that to the provinces. All provinces agreed. It was also agreed to incorporate these into the Constituent Assembly's new constitution. That is one part of the guarantee. Have you read that history ? Or, you do not care for the recent history after you began to make history ! If you do that, then I tell you we have a dark future. Learn to stand upon your pledged word and also as a man of experience I tell you, do not quarrel with the instruments with which you want to work. It is a bad workman who quarrels with his tools. Take work from them. Every man wants some sort of encouragement. Nobody wants to put in work when everyday he is criticized and ridiculed in public. Nobody will give you work like that. So, once and for all, decide whether you want this Service or not. If you have done with it and decide not to have this Service at all, even in spite of my pledged word, I will take the Services with me and go. The nation has changed its mind.

* * *

Then you make up your mind to prepare for a substitute. We have already a substitute. We have started a training school here in India ; we have fixed the cadre, proposals for which have been approved by Provinces — you know all that.

If you want an efficient all-India Service, I advise you to allow the Services to open their mouth freely. If you are a Premier, it would be your duty to allow your Secretary, or Chief Secretary, or other Services working under you, to express their opinion without fear or favour. But I see a tendency today that in several provinces the Services are set upon and told : "No, you are servicemen, you must carry out our orders." The Union will go — you will not have a united India if you have not a good all-India Service which has the independence to speak out its mind, which has a sense of security that you will stand by your word and that after all there is the Parliament, of which we can be proud, where their rights and privileges are secure.

* * *

I have seen people who express their opinion about this Service as they used to talk in old fashion when 50 or 60 per cent were the British element who dominated the Service and our members of the Service had hardly any freedom to express their opinion and they were not independent. Today, my Secretary can write a note opposed to my views. I have given that freedom to all my Secretaries. I have told them, "If you do not give your honest opinion for the fear that it will displease your Minister, please then you had better go. I will bring another Secretary. I will never be displeased over a frank expression of opinion." That is what the Britishers were doing with the Britishers. We are now sharing the responsibility. You have agreed to share responsibility. Many of them with whom I have worked, I have no hesitation in saying that they are as patriotic, as loyal and as sincere as myself. Those who think that leaders were mistaken in giving these guarantees, they do not know their mind ; they do not know what would have happened. They do not even now know. Yet we have difficult times ahead. We are talking here under security kept in very difficult circumstances. These people are the instruments. Remove them and I see nothing but a picture of chaos all over the country. I have difficulty because we have paucity of men. Provinces also suffer and they ask for more men. We have appointed a Special Commission to recruit about three hundred to four hundred men. They have just been selected. They are not selected from the I.C.S. cadre. They have no experience. But yet we want instruments. They will learn from these people.

Now, what is it that you want to do ? You decide. My advice to you is all members of the Parliament should support the Service except where any individual member of the Service may be misbehaving or erring in his duty or committing a dereliction of his duties. Then bring it to my notice. I will spare nobody, whoever he is. But if these service people are giving you full value of their services and more, then try to learn to appreciate them. Forget the past. We fought the Britishers for so many years. I was their bittermost enemy and they regarded me as such but I am very frank and they consider me to be their sincere friend. What did Gandhiji teach us ? You are talking of Gandhian ideology and Gandhian philosophy and Gandhian way of administration. Very good. But you come out of the jail and then say, "These men put me in jail. Let me take revenge." That is not Gandhian way. It is going far away from that. Therefore, for God's sake, let us understand where we are. Today, if you want to take anything from the Service, you touch their heart but don't take a *lathi* and say, "Who is to give you guarantee ? We are a Supreme Parliament." Have you supremacy for this kind of thing — to go behind your words ? That supremacy will go down in a few days if you do that. That is my appeal to you and sincere appeal to you. You remember that and carry that to the provinces also and to the Congressmen also who are working outside. That is the way of administration. Otherwise, it will go down. And when the country is stabilized and when it is strong enough, then if you want to make any change, it would not be difficult for the service people to be persuaded. If the Princes could be persuaded to give up their kingdoms, how would it be otherwise with the Services who are our own people, whose children will be also serving with us, and who have laboured all day and night for the country. They are men who prefer honour, dignity, prestige and deserve the affection of the people. Very few people would like to serve only to be considered as enemies of the country. So don't speak in those terms and I appeal to you to consider my word and give your judgment.

CONSTITUTION OF STATES

[The following are parts of the speech of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the Constituent Assembly on October 12, on the above subject. — Ed.]

The amendments which are now being proposed concerning the provision of the Constitution applicable to the States, embody the results of the bloodless revolution which within a remarkably short period, has transformed the internal and external set-up of the States. The fact that the new Constitution specifies only seven States in Part III of Schedule I is an index to the phenomenal progress made by the policy of integration pursued by the Government of India. By integrating 500 and odd States into sizeable units and by the complete elimination of centuries-old autocracies, the Indian democracy has won a great victory of which the Princes and the people of India alike should be proud. This is an achievement which should redound to the credit of any nation or people at any phase of history.

* * *

As a result of the policy of integration and democratization of States pursued by the Government of India since December 1947 the process of what might be described as 'unionization' of States has been greatly accelerated. Two important developments in this direction have been the extension of the legislative authority of the Dominion over the States and the federal financial integration of the States. The States had originally acceded in respect of the three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications only. With the formation of the Unions the legislative power of the Dominion Parliament was extended in respect of the Unions of States to all matters specified in the Federal and Concurrent Lists except those relating to taxation. The content of the accession of the State of Mysore was also likewise extended.

The gap in the financial field has now been filled by the arrangements which have been

negotiated with the States on the basis of the recommendations made by the Indian States Finances Enquiry Committee. The fundamental basis of this scheme is that federal financial integration of the States is a necessary consequence of the basic conception underlying the new Constitution of the Union of India — that of Provinces and States as equal partners. The scheme, therefore, is based upon complete equality between the Provinces and States in the following respects :

(1) The Central Government should perform the same functions and exercise the same powers in States as in Provinces ;

(2) The Central Government should function through its own executive organizations in States as in Provinces ;

(3) There should be uniformity and equality in the basis of contributions to Central resources from Provinces and States ;

(4) There should be equality of treatment as between Provinces and States in the matters of common services rendered by the Central Government, and as regards the sharing of divisible federal taxes, grants-in-aid, 'subsidies', and all other forms of financial and technical assistance.

These far-reaching changes in our fiscal structure are being introduced with the full concurrence of the States.

These important developments enabled us to review the position of the States under the new Constitution and to remove from it all vestiges of anomalies and disparities which found their way into the new Constitution as a legacy from the past.

When the Covenants establishing the various Unions of States were entered into, it was contemplated that the Constitutions of the various Unions would be formed by their respective Constituent Assemblies within the framework of the Covenants and the Constitution of India. These provisions were made in the Covenants at a time when we were still working under the shadow of the theory, that the assumption, by the Constituent Assembly of India, of the constitution-making authority in respect of the States would constitute an infringement of the autonomy of the States. As, however, the States came closer to the Centre, it was realized that the idea of separate Constitutions being framed for the different Constituent Units of the Indian Union was a legacy from the Rulers' polity and that in a people's polity there was no scope for variegated constitutional patterns. We, therefore, discussed this matter with the Premiers of the various Unions and decided, with their concurrence, that the Constitution of the States should also form an integral part of the Constitution of India. The readiness with which the legislatures of the three States in which such bodies are functioning at present, namely, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin Union and Saurashtra, have accepted this procedure, bears testimony to the wish of the people of the States to eschew the separatist trends of the past.

In view of these important developments it became necessary to recast a number of the provisions of the Constitution in so far as they related to the States. The amendments we are proposing have been examined by the Constitution-making bodies of Mysore, Saurashtra and Travancore and Cochin Union.

Unfortunately we have no properly constituted legislatures in the rest of the States ; nor will it be possible to have legislatures constituted in them before the Constitution of India emerges in its final form. We have, therefore, no option but to make the Constitution operative in these States on the basis of its acceptance by the Ruler or the Rajpramukh as the case may be, who will no doubt consult their Councils of Ministers.

* * *

The legislatures of these States, when constituted under the new Constitution, may propose amendments to the Constitution. I wish to assure the people of these States that any recommendations made by their first legislatures would receive our earnest consideration. In the meantime I have no doubt, that the Constitution framed by this House, where all the States except one are duly represented, will be acceptable to them.

In view of the special problems with which the Government of Jammu and Kashmir is faced, we have made a special provision for the continuance of the constitutional relationship of the State with the Union on the existing basis. In the case of Hyderabad State the acceptance of the Constitution will be subject to ratification by the people of the State.

* * *

I am sure the House will note with gratification the important fact that unlike the scheme of 1935, our new Constitution is not an alliance between democracies and dynasties, but a real Union of the Indian people built on the basic concept of the sovereignty of the people. It removes all barriers between the people of the States and the people of the Provinces and achieves for the first time the objective of a strong democratic India built on the true foundation of a co-operative enterprise on the part of the people of the Provinces and States alike.

As the House is acquainted with trends of developments affecting the States it is not necessary for me to explain to the House the various amendments which have been tabled. There are two or three matters, however, about which I should like to make a few observations.

The States, as we inherited them, were in varying stages of development. In most cases the advance had to be made from the starting point of pure autocracy. Having regard to the magnitude of the task, which confronted the Governments of the Unions in the transitional period, and to the fact that neither the Services inherited by them nor the political organizations, as they existed there, were in a position to

assume, unaided, full responsibilities of the administration, we made a provision in some of the Covenants that till the new Constitution came into operation in these Unions, the Rajpramukh and the Council of Ministers shall, in the exercise of their functions, be under the general control of the Government of India and comply with the instructions issued by that Government from time to time. The stress of the transitional phase is likely to continue for some years. We are ourselves most anxious that the people of these States should shoulder their full responsibilities; however, we cannot ignore the fact that while the administrative organization and political institutions are to be found in most of the States in a relatively less developed state, the problems relating to the integration of the States and the change-over from an autocratic to a democratic order are such, as to test the mettle of long-established administrations and experienced leaders of people. We have, therefore, found it necessary that in the interest of the growth of democratic institutions in these States no less than the requirements of administrative efficiency, the Government of India should exercise general supervision over the Governments of the States till such time as it may be necessary.

It is natural that a provision of this nature which treats States in Part III differently from Part I States should cause some misgivings. I wish to assure the Hon'ble Members representing these States, and through them the people of these States that the provision involves no censure of any Government. It merely provides for contingencies which, in view of the present conditions, are more likely to arise in Part III States than in the States of other categories. We do not wish to interfere with the day-to-day administration of any of the States. We are ourselves most anxious that the people of the States should learn by experience. This Article is essentially in the nature of a safety-valve to obviate recourse to drastic remedies such as the provisions for the breakdown of the constitutional machinery. It is quite obvious that in this matter the States, e. g. Mysore and Travancore and Cochin Union where democratic institutions have been functioning for a long time and where Governments responsible to the legislatures are in office, have to be treated differently from States not conforming to these standards. In all these cases our control will be exercised in varying degrees according to the requirements of each case. The Proviso to the Article gives us the necessary discretion to deal with each case on its merits.

Another matter about which I would like to remove misgivings is the proposed amendment to Article 3. This amendment places the States in Part III on the same footing as the States in Part I in respect of territorial readjustments. The Constituent Assembly of Mysore recommended to us that the Article as already adopted by this House, which provides for prior consent of Part III States before any proposals affecting their territories are placed before the House, should remain unaltered. We have not found it possible to agree to the suggestion for the simple reason that in such matters there should be no differentiation between Part I and Part III States. I, however, take this opportunity of assuring the representatives of Mysore State that whether the Article provides for consultation or consent of the legislature of the affected State, the wishes of the people cannot be ignored either by the Central Government or legislature. After all, we are a democracy; the main sanction behind us is the will of the people and we cannot act in disregard of public opinion.

I now come to the proposed Article 267A in respect of which some explanation is necessary. The Government of India have guaranteed to the Rulers of Merged and Integrated States payment of privy purses as fixed under the terms of the various Covenants and Agreements of Merger. Article 267A gives constitutional recognition to these guarantees and provides for this expenditure being charged on the Central Revenues subject to such recoveries as may be made from time to time from the Provinces and States in respect of these payments.

I shall first deal with the financial aspect of these arrangements. In the past, in most of the States there was no distinction between the expenditure on the administration and the Ruler's privy purse. Even where the Ruler's privy purse had been fixed no effective steps were taken to ensure that the expenditure expected to be covered by the privy purse was not, directly or indirectly, charged on the revenues of the State. Large amounts, therefore, were spent on the Rulers and on the members of the ruling families. This expenditure has been estimated to exceed twenty crores of rupees per year.

All the agreements of merger and Covenants now provide for the fixation of the Rulers' privy purses which are intended to cover all the expenses of the Rulers and their families including the expenses of their residencies, marriages and other ceremonies etc. The privy purses guaranteed under these agreements are less than the percentage for the Deccan States under the award given by Dr. Rajendraprasad, Shri Shankerrao Deo and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. It is calculated on the basis of 15 per cent on the first lakh of average annual revenue of the State concerned, ten per cent on the next four lakhs and seven and a half per cent above five lakhs, subject to a maximum of ten lakhs. The maximum figure of ten lakhs has been exceeded only in the case of the major States, which had been recognized as viable and the amount fixed in such cases are payable during their life-time only. The total annual privy-purse commitments so far made amount to about four and a half crores of rupees. When the amounts

guaranteed to certain Rulers during their lifetime are subsequently refixed the total annual expenditure in respect of privy purses will amount to less than four crores of rupees.

Under the terms of the Covenants and the agreements entered into by the Rulers, privy purses are payable to the Rulers, out of the revenues of the States concerned and payments have so far been made accordingly. During the course of the discussions with the Indian States Finances Enquiry Committee, it was urged by most of the States that the liability for paying privy purses of Rulers should be taken over by the Centre on the ground that —

(a) privy purses have been fixed by the Centre;

(b) privy purses are political in nature; and

(c) similar payments are not made by the Provinces.

Apart from these considerations, the position has definitely changed since the execution of the Covenants. In the first place, so far as the merged States are concerned, with their total extinction under the new Constitution of India, as separate entities, the basis of liability for privy-purse payments guaranteed to the Rulers of the States will undergo a change, in that the States, from the revenue of which privy purses are payable, would cease to exist. Secondly, the term "revenues of the State" has now to be viewed in the context of the federal financial integration of the States. This integration involves a two-fold process: one, of 'functional' partition of the present composite State Governments, and the other of 'merger' of the partitioned 'federal' portions of the State Governments with the present Central Government. It follows, therefore, that when the federal financial integration becomes effective, the liability in respect of privy-purse payments should strictly speaking be shared on an equitable basis by the functional successors to the Governments of merged and integrated States, that is, the Central Government, on the one hand, and the Governments of Provinces and States on the other. Having regard to all these factors, we have decided that the best course would be that these payments should constitute a charge on the Central revenues, but that, at the same time, provision should be made for the recovery of such contributions from the Governments of the States, during such transitional period and in such amounts as may be considered appropriate. These recoveries are to be made in accordance with the scheme for financial integration of the States.

I have already stated that the privy-purse settlements made by us will reduce the burden of the expenditure on the Rulers to at least one-fourth of the previous figure. Besides, the States have benefitted very considerably from the process of integration in the form of cash balances inherited by them from the Rulers. Thus, for instance, the Rajpramukh of Madhya Bharat alone has made over to the Union large sums of money yielding interest sufficient to cover a major portion of the total privy purses of the Rulers, who have joined this Union. So far as the assumption of the part of the burden by the Centre is concerned, we must remember that this arrangement flows as a consequence of the financial integration of the States, which will have an effect of lasting character on the economy of this country. The fiscal unification of India will patch up the disruptive rents in the economy of India which rendered effective implementation of economic policies in the Provinces impossible. Thus, for instance, in the matter of income-tax evasion alone, which has been a serious matter in recent years, the gains from federal financial integration will prove very substantial. From the financial point of view, therefore, the arrangements we have made are going to benefit very materially the economy of this country.

I shall now come to the political and moral aspect of these settlements. In order to view the payments guaranteed by us in their correct perspective, we have to remember that they are linked with the momentous developments affecting the most vital interests of this country. These guarantees form part of the historic settlements which enshrine in them the consummation of the great ideal of geographical, political and economic unification of India, an ideal which for centuries remained a distant dream and which appeared as remote and as difficult of attainment as ever even after the advent of Indian independence.

Human memory is proverbially short. Meeting in October, 1949, we are apt to forget the magnitude of the problem which confronted us in August, 1947. As the Honourable Members are aware, the so-called lapse of paramountcy was a part of the Plan announced on June 3, 1947, which was accepted by the Congress. We agreed to this arrangement in the same manner as we agreed to the partition of India. We accepted it because, we had no option to act otherwise. While there was recognition in the various announcements of the British Government of the fundamental fact that each State should link up its future with that Dominion with which it was geographically contiguous, the Indian Independence Act released the States from all their obligations to the British Crown. In their various authoritative pronouncements, the British spokesmen recognized that with the lapse of paramountcy, technically and legally the States would become independent. They even conceded that theoretically the States were free to link their future with whichever Dominion they liked although, in saying so, they referred to certain geographical compulsions, which could not be evaded. The situation was indeed fraught with immeasurable potentialities of

disruption, for some of the Rulers did wish to exercise their technical right to declare independence and others to join the neighbouring Dominion. If the Rulers had exercised their right in such an unpatriotic manner, they would have found considerable support from influential elements hostile to the interests of this country.

It was against this unpropitious background that the Government of India invited the Rulers of the States to accede on three subjects of Defence, External Affairs and Communications. At the time the proposal was put forward to the Rulers, an assurance was given to them that they would retain the *status quo* except for accession on these subjects. It had been made clear to them that this accession did not also imply any financial liability on the part of the States and that there was no intention either to encroach on the internal autonomy or the sovereignty of the States or to fetter their discretion in respect of their acceptance of the new Constitution of India. These commitments had to be borne in mind when the States Ministry approached the Rulers for the integration of their States. There was nothing to compel or induce the Rulers to merge the identity of their States. Any use of force would have not only been against our professed principles but would have also caused serious repercussions. If the Rulers had elected to stay put, they would have continued to draw the heavy civil lists which they were drawing before and in a large number of cases they could have continued to enjoy unrestricted use of the State revenues. The minimum which we could offer to them as *quid pro quo* for parting with their ruling powers was to guarantee to them privy purses and certain privileges on a reasonable and defined basis. The privy-purse settlements are therefore, in the nature of consideration for the surrender by the Rulers of all their ruling powers and also for the dissolution of the States as separate units. We would do well to remember that the British Government spent enormous amounts in respect of the Mahratta settlements alone. We are ourselves honouring the commitments of the British Government in respect of the pensions of those Rulers who helped them in consolidating their Empire. Need we cavil then at the small — I purposely use the word small — price we have paid for the bloodless revolution which has affected the destinies of millions of our people.

The capacity for mischief and trouble on the part of the Rulers if the settlement with them would not have been reached on a negotiated basis was far greater than could be imagined at this stage. Let us do justice to them ; let us place ourselves in their position and then assess the value of their sacrifice. The Rulers have now discharged their part of the obligations by transferring all ruling powers and by agreeing to the integration of their States. The main part of our obligation under these agreements, is to ensure that the guarantees given by us in respect of privy purses are fully implemented. Our failure to do so would be a breach of faith and seriously prejudice the stabilization of the new order.

In commending the various provisions concerning the States to the House I would ask the Honourable Members to view them as a coordinated over-all settlement of a gigantic problem. A particular provision isolated from its context may give a wholly erroneous impression. Some of us might find fault with what might appear as relics of the previous autocratic set-up. I wish to assure Honourable Members that autocracy in the States has gone, and has gone for good. Let us not get impatient with any particular term which might remind us of the past. The form in which the Rulers find recognition in the new Constitution of India, in no way impairs the democratic set-up of the States. The Rulers have made an honourable exit ; it now remains for the people to fill the breach and to derive full benefit from the new order.

I take the liberty to remind the House that at the Haripura Session the Congress in 1938 defined its objective in respect of the States as follows :

> " The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated. The *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence, which is the objective of the Congress, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection. The only kind of federation that can be acceptable to the Congress is one in which the States participate as free units, enjoying the same measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India."

I am sure the House will agree with me when I say that the provisions which we are now placing before the House embody in them full achievement of that objective.

A Request

I was reading to my students *Our Time a Trust* by Mahadev Desai from *Young India,* 1924. In the second paragraph, he quotes, " How much the more and the better thou knowest, so much the more rigorously shalt thou therefore be judged."

I shall be obliged if any of your readers will be so good as to inform me where this quotation is taken from.

S. R. SIVARAMAKRISHNAN,
Assistant, D. J. High School,
Gobichettipalayam (South India).

POLICY ABOUT HINDUSTANI

A special meeting of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha was held under the Presidentship of Dr. Rajendraprasad on 16th October, 1949 at New Delhi. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Shrimati Amritkaur, Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, Shrimati Perin Captain, Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar, Pandit Sunderlal and other members were present. The following resolution was passed unanimously:

"Having considered in all its bearings the decision of the Constituent Assembly regarding the official language of India, this meeting of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha, reaffirms its faith that the solution of the language problem recommended by Mahatma Gandhi was and is the best in the interest of the nation and decides that there is no need for change in the objects, policy and programme of the Sabha. The promotion of Hindustani does include the fostering of Hindi and the spread of the Nagari script.

"The Sabha confidently hopes that when the time comes for the use of Hindi as the official language, its form will not be substantially different from the Hindustani of the Sabha's conception. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Constituent Assembly, while deciding upon Hindi as the official language, has given a clear directive 'to develop the language so as to serve as a medium of expression for the various elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India.

"It has been the object of Hindustani Prachar Sabha from its very inception to try its best to bridge the gulf between the two literary styles of the language of the North, namely Hindi and Urdu. In order to achieve this end and to foster cultural intercourse, the Sabha has always insisted on the study of both the Nagari and the Urdu script for Hindustani.

"It should now be our policy to accept for Hindustani such words from the provincial languages which can be easily assimilated in Hindustani, thus bringing the various provinces closer to each other.

"It becomes the special duty of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha as well as of all institutions and individual writers interested in Hindustani to develop such literature in Hindustani both in quality and quantity, which will be easily acceptable to the people and will strengthen the cultural and polical unity of the nation.

"The Sabha appeals to all sections of the people to co-operate in the speedy development of the Indian languages, so that the period of fifteen years granted to the use of English may be reduced with the willing consent of all parties."

Wardha — AMRUTLAL NANAVATI, Secretary, Hindustani Prachar Sabha

A KEEPER OF GANDHIAN CONSCIENCE!

I have received the following:

> Mr. M. V. Ganapati (Advocate), General Secretary of the Madras City Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, has issued the following statement to the Press:
>
> Now that Pandit Godse's application for leave to appeal has been dismissed by the Privy Council, nothing stands between the sentence and the execution except the mercy of the Government. I should think that mercy will have to be extended to the condemned persons, not so much for their individual sakes, as for the sake of the principle involved, and, in a vital sense, for the honour of the Hindu Nation.
>
> Mr. Gandhi's particular cult of Non-violence — the 'turn-the-other-cheek' cult — has never been the Hindu way of thought, but it would be idle to deny that it has been presented to the world as such. It will also be idle to deny that the hanging of his murderers would look a farcical misapplication of his texts — nay, would stamp those texts themselves with hypocrisy and charlatanism. It becomes therefore important to see that no impression or scope for impression is left abroad that Hinduism can tolerate either hyprocrisy or charlatanism. In that sense it is vital to the honour of the Hindu nation that what the world has been led to expect by the preachings of Mr. Gandhi, that shall happen.
>
> It may be remembered that some years ago Shri A. Vythianatha Aiyar of Mathurai made special exertions for the extension of clemency to some Muslim murderers. He did so then in professed practice of the tenets of his teacher. It will be very appropriate if the move for mercy in the present instance should be sponsored by this leader, so earnest in devotion to his Master. And it seems not to be without significance that that mercy has to be exercised or refused by one who was so close to the Mahatma that people have sometimes described him as the '*mahant* of the Mahatma'."

Is it necessary to comment upon this? It betrays the low type of mind behind it. If Godse is allowed to live, I shall welcome that decision. If he is not, I shall regret it. For, what is more necessary than Godse's liquidation is the liquidation of this debased mentality put forth as Hindu culture. It will destroy everything that is noble in Hinduism.

Wardha, 27-10-'49 — K. G. MASHRUWALA

Dr. Foss Westcott

The Revd. Dr. Foss Westcott, ex-Metropolitan of India, was a sincere servant of God and man, and had devoted all his life to the service of India and remained here even after retirement. A devout Christian that he was, there was no racial or sectarian feeling in him and he worked hard for Hindu-Muslim amity and used all his influence to bring about good relations between the British Indian Government and India. He had the same spirit of friendliness and humility as Deenbandhu Andrews and the two were great friends. His passing away on 19th October at the age of 86 is a well-earned return Home after long and honest service.

Wardha, 26-10-'49 — K. G. M.

THE SANSIS' ANGUISH

On October 2, Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru was invited by the Sansi (a penalized Tribe) Maha Sabha, Delhi, to preside over Gandhiji's birth celebration in Andha Moghul Reclamation colony, popularly known as Bapu Nagar. The Sansi Maha Sabha is an organization recently formed by the residents of the colony with the object of doing welfare work in the colony. It has done some useful work during the short period of its existance. Shrimati Rameshwari was shown round the various activities of the Sabha including a manual labour-squad, a pre-basic class, a foot-ball team, and their newly-opened dispensary. The colony was remarkably neat and tidy. The dispensary building has been put up by the free labour of the Sansis themselves. They had been able to secure the free services of a competent and qualified doctor, Dr. Vinodebeharilal for their charitable dispensary. That was all good work which the Sabha has done in a short period.

But of all the items of celebrations, the welcome speech given by an educated Sansi lady on behalf of all the residents of the colony was most touching. In her sweet but firm voice, she said, "We can understand why the foreigner kept us in slavery. But what we cannot understand is why does the Congress or Pandit Jawaharlal or Sardar Patel continue to keep us in bondage? The country has achieved independence but we continue to work as slaves!" Very pointedly she again asked, "When Balasaheb Kher can grant freedom to 12 *lakh* Criminal Tribes people living in Bombay Presidency, why is Sardar Patel afraid to remove the shackles of a few thousand Criminal Tribes people living in Delhi Province?" In an indignant tone she continued, "To classify the whole Sansi Tribe and other tribes as Criminal is a great cruelty, a huge barbarity, an absolute ruthlessness and a terrible sin. We wonder who is to be held responsible for this sin?" She quoted the following passage from the speech of the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, delivered on 18-10-'36 at Nellore (Andhra):

> "I am aware of the monstrous provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act which constitute a negation of Civil Liberty. Wide publicity should be given to its working and an attempt made to have the Act removed from the statute book. No tribe could be classed as Criminal as such and the whole principle was out of consonance with all civilized principles of criminal justice and treatment of offenders."

She asked, "Pandit Jawaharlal became the Prime Minister on 15th August 1947. Two long years have since rolled by. What has he been able to do for us so far? We are informed that a committee has just been appointed to investigate the possibility of repealing or modifying the Criminal Tribes Act of 1924." In her anguish, she cried out, "God alone knows what this committee would do and how long it would take to complete their investigation." She continued her speech with a note of optimism that breathed of a great Truth, "Mataji," as all Harijans endearingly call Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, "we are also human beings. God dwells in our hearts too. We also can become great provided opportunity is given to us for our growth. We implore you to help us in creating favourable surroundings conducive to our growth."

Shrimati Rameshwari was touched by this outspoken but pathetic appeal of these poor people and gave them an assurance that she would do her best to get this obnoxious Act repealed. She assured the Sansis that the Congress Government was equally interested in the repeal of this Act and in the welfare of the Criminal Tribes and it would not be long before this Act would be repealed and they would all breathe as free men.

At the end of the function a Hindu Scoutmaster asked her permission to speak a few words. He informed the audience that of all scout troops in Delhi, the Criminal Tribes scout troop had topped the list in earning a special certificate of merit for having shown excellent spirit of service and hard work. To dub such fine young men as criminal was an act of criminality, he said.

Could not the Act be repealed without reference to any committee? Cannot Delhi follow the example of Bombay and Madras?

New Delhi SEVAKRAM KARAMCHAND,
Working Secretary, Displaced Harijans
Rehabilitation Board

Is This the Dawn At Last?

The report of the Gorwala Committee, among other things, recommends growing raw materials as against food crops and establishing an Export Promotion Department. The last, presumably, to enable us to secure Dollar Exchange for the requirements of industrialists. The type of economy they recommend is already gaining ground. India produces about 70 million pounds of flue-cured Virginia Cigarette tobacco, valued at about Rs. 5½crores, covering about 8,00,000 acres of good irrigated soil. Besides this, sugar-cane, long-staple cotton and groundnuts are driving out food crops.

Pandit Nehru gives expression to many ideas at various times. Addressing a public meeting at Poona he is reported to have said, "The freedom we achieved two years ago would be meaningless unless we attained economic self-sufficiency. For that we must begin to produce at least our essential requirements in our own country." May we fondly hope that wisdom has begun to dawn on him after his Government was obliged to devalue the rupee?

All this reveals an aweful lack of a definite policy at the top. How long will the country drift like this?

J. C. K.

PASHULOK

Those who have known Mirabehn closely know that her adventurous spirit is capable of rushing into situations which often perturb her friends. Her latest all-absorbing love is the Cow — one of the two subjects to which the Father of the Nation could never refer without being visibly moved with agony; the other being Harijans.

Once in she would go at it with all the thoroughness of the Western approach and work herself away with amazing concentration and energy. Thus today if she is invited to contribute to the latest Viswabharati Gandhi Memorial Volume she must write only on the Cow, or if she stumbles upon the Governor-General it would be only to introduce a tender little calf with a tiny representation between her hoofs to present the same to the august personage so that the woes of the bovine species may disappear from the land.

Some time back I heard that she was busying herself with founding a *Goseva* Centre and a colony of *Gosevaks* in the Terai jungles near Haradwar; it almost took my breath away. I had lived in the Terai climate around Haradwar and Rishikesh in my early days and had known how people suffered from its malignant malaria. The fever would not leave them for five years and shortened their life by at least ten. While I felt rather unnerved at these saddening memories, I was also reminded of the Pilgrim Fathers of old who colonized America and of the missionaries who penetrated the jungles of central Ceylon, the uninhabitable coast of Shanghai, as also more recently army men during the recent war who banished malaria from Arakan. To the adventurous the greater the danger the greater is the thrill in undertaking the venture. I had narrowly missed meeting her during one of my Northern pilgrimages last year and longed for an opportunity to meet her and watch her at her job in the new setting. So, this time, one fine morning I was glad to walk beside long vast expanses of reclaimed land in the Terai forests along the banks of the Holy Ganga near Rishikesh and along the ploughed fields laden with a rich variety of fodder and food-grain crops, interspersed with snug little colonies of straw-thatched mud-huts and neat sign-board indicators. Further on among wild eight feet high reed grasses I saw little herds of cows and calves and even wild looking bullocks grazing and roaming merrily.

This was Pashulok — Mirabehn's creation, fruit of her and her doughty comrades' two years' hard pioneer labours. It was the outcome of her passionate love for the cow whom Gandhiji called " the poem of compassion " and who represented to him the whole of the sub-human world. With the passion and zeal of a pioneer colonist she chose this most uninviting area for her field of action and approached the U. P. Government for their co-operation in her constructive venture. After some effort the assistance came in the form of an allotment of 821 acres of the jungle which she was to reclaim both for cattle-grazing and cultivation.

So here she is now amidst all the paraphernalia and problems of a newly founded colony of men and beasts, going about morning and evening on her pet pony Mana, halting on roadsides and talking in fluent Hindi to men, women and children of the jungle, with all the majesty and awe of a saffron-robed *Sannyasini* Behnji — so she is called by every one here — has planned and constructed rows of lovely mud-huts alongside the Ganga bank so as to enable the occupant to have *darshan* of the Holy River day and night. She has cleared large patches of the jungle around and not a mosquito is to be found anywhere near these dwellings. For three consecutive nights I slept inside one of these without the slightest inkling of a mosquito anywhere. This to me was the biggest surprise of all during the visit.

She has besides constructed two big *goshalas* of grass-thatched roofs and walls of plank chips (saw-mill leavings) with no pavements save of a three or four inch layer of soft lose earth which is replaced periodically by fresh one when the old one is saturated with dung moisture and urine of the animals. It forms the best ingredient in the compost pits which lie in the vicinity and where every bit of waste and refuse is treated scientifically and with utmost care under personal day to day supervision and turned into rich manure which she rightly calls " Gold ". She has a tiny collection of valuable books on the latest methods of manure and compost making, and she subscribes for magazines and periodicals dealing with scientific research and treatment of soil — the Mother Earth.

With the passion of a Brindaban *gopee*, Behnji tends the cow — the Mother of Prosperity — and her progeny at the two *goshalas*. A printed leaflet under her signature is broadcast all over the locality calling upon owners of old, maimed and disabled cows, calves and bullocks to surrender them to her for free care and protection. She has made provision for the care-taking of 500. Animals frightfully mutilated and maimed, with cancers and compound fractures and sinus wounds and running sores drawing almost their last breath are made over and she with the help of her devoted helpers tends them and nurses them and makes them whole till they are able to sit up and walk and graze and roam about in the surrounding jungles. This is after the ideal of Gandhiji's conception for the old and aged animals where their slaughter is out of question.

Utmost economy is observed in the working of the uneconomic infirmary section. Wild green grasses which are pure waste products in these marshy jungles are chopped into fine bits and made edible with rock-salt slabs placed here and there for the animals to lick and whet

their appetite, so that they may eat with relish. They are daily patted and cajoled and talked to by Behnji, the saffron queen, once at least every day and they seem to know her not only by the look but even by the sound of her or her Mana's footsteps. These skeletons cast away to die on the streets infested and covered with disease and injury soon heal under such loving care and affection and unless too aged come in condition. Then they are graded and promoted to the dry salvage section, where they get better feeding and concentrates, and they then come to heat and even calve. A small tannery is attached to the infirmary — a vital and indispensable concomitant to a cattle centre.

At the Dry Salvage Section cows are served with selected sires and cared for till they calve again. Owners who usually neglect their cows woefully during dry period both in respect of feeding and breeding are induced to entrust them for being looked after here on easy terms. At the time of my visit the section contained 189 heads as against 202 in the infirmary. The former included seven or eight pairs of draught bullocks, which work on the lands in the Agriculture Section and six donkeys maintained for minor transport. All scrub and wild bulls and males save those selected as breeding sires are castrated by the painless Burdisso method.

A thrilling feature of the Settlement's activities is the catching and taming of wild bulls that abound in these jungles. They form one of the species of wild animals that inhabit Terai including tigers, leopards, boars, bears and wild elephants, not to speak of monkeys, jackals, etc. I had no opportunity to witness any operation of catching one or more of these wild bulls, but from what I heard about it, it must be quite an exciting experience, no less thrilling than what we read about Spanish bull-fights in Mexico, minus its cruelties. The men who do the job come from Mathura side. They are no *pahalwans*, but by dint of sheer pluck and agility make themselves adepts in the art of catching wild bulls. I suppose it is a job tougher than that of hunting wild boars. While the spectators ride elephants or run on foot shouting words of encouragement and cheer, the pursuers chase the bull on horse-back from both sides till the animal is exhausted and panting. They then close on him and before the exhausted bull has time to kick or charge, catch him by the tail which is so pulled as to floor the animal. Sometimes by sheer agility and presence of mind, one of the pursuers holds the charging bull by the horns while the other, within the twinkling of an eye, follows him with his rope or even with a long towel or loin cloth and brings him down. Ropes are then brought in and he is tied up to the nearest tree. The adventure often costs much pursuit and even injury to the pursuers. The bull is soon domesticated and tamed under shelter, care and ample timely feeding, is nose-strung, castrated and broken for the plough or sold to the neighbouring cultivators for draught purposes on easy terms.

The first slice of 350 acres out of the 821 acres of jungle land is already cleared of reed and shrub, and has been tractor-ploughed for the first operation, to be permanently worked by bullocks in future. On 250 acres stand luxurious Kharif crops of *chari* (*juar*), *gowar*, *mecca*, *bajra*, etc. About 35 acres were damaged by floods and 40 remain fallow. A second inning of wheat, barley, peas, oats, oil-seeds and allied crops including vegetables will be taken on the whole acreage during the coming cold season. The area knows no drought or famine. A small little river called the *Rambha* flows in the centre of the reclaimed lands.

The U. P. Government maintains a unit of seven officials, eight subordinate staff and 34 permanent men to work the three sections, the Dry Salvage, the Infirmary and the Land Reclamation, besides engaging casual labour according to need. The annual budget, both recurring and non-recurring, is a little over Rs.1,00,000 while gross estimated income is Rs.60,000 approximately for the current year, which gives promise of a bright future.

Another adjoining slice of 500 acres of the jungle is in the offing for immediate reclamation. When this is done, Behnji proposes to found, on planned village models, one or two settlements or *bustees* of Harijan agriculturist families with the necessary contingent of village artisans. They will be allotted economic holdings in land and will engage themselves in cattle improvement or pursue village crafts on co-operative lines. They will be initiated in the working of the co-operative principle and enjoy all the amenities of a co-operative life. Behnji has also a further programme of reclaiming 6,000 to 8,000 acres of the jungle area in view. The Government would no doubt be more than justified in pooling their resources in money, material and talent in reclaiming other Terai areas in the Province on the same lines as here and regenerating the cow and her progeny besides implementing the present 'grow more' drive and bringing food and comfort to thousands of *kisan* families.

I cannot help mentioning here, incidentally, the vast lands, orchards, buildings, and other properties often developed and fully equipped with buildings, wells, water-ways and staff, but lying waste and totally neglected under religious and charitable trusts, which are, alas! hot-beds of abuse and corruption and are virtually personal properties of *Mahants* or of so-called trustees or committees. Even a cursory survey or investigation into the administration or management of these charities by Government with the help of uncorrupt officials or non-official men of integrity would result in shocking revelations. And every local and prominent man who has anything to do with public affairs knows this. But who should bell the cat?

Every functionary of the Government or member of popular bodies, official or non-official, seems to be concerned only with his job or voting electorate or with retaining his place in the public and has little time to look into other affairs or is not interested in creating new opposition. Let the sleeping dogs lie, seems to be the working motto. The initiative must come from him, but I am afraid nothing is going to come in this direction till the Provincial Government take courage in both their hands and take the initiative. The problem is more undebatable than, say, the abolition of *Zamindari*, inasmuch as these are charitable trust-properties vested in the trustees for good management and are not under personal ownership.

The U. P. Government very rightly and wisely backs Mirabehn's efforts and maintains a staff for full administration and supervision of the operations on the settlement in all its sections: Agricultural, Cattle Salvage, Infirmary, Tannery, etc., Mirabehn's role being somewhat of an Honorary Adviser Major to the Government, of the Architect, Engineer and Administrator, all rolled into one. I congratulate Shri Pantji's Government on having secured for their whip so eminent a missionary as Mirabehn in their programme of rural reconstruction and development.

So Behnji's Pashulok promises to be one of the foremost model colonies in co-operative farming and cattle-breeding — the two vital basic industries of the country. I congratulate and salute my sister Mirabehn.

Dehra Dun, 4-10-'49 SWAMI ANAND

NOTES

'Save More Food' Campaign

The following sent on behalf of the Bombay Suburban District Congress Committee is a commendable activity:

> "Grow More Food" slogan does not befit Bombay City and Suburbs but "Save More Food" is the best slogan to help the country's Food problem. Hence on behalf of our District Congress, a "Save Food" Campaign has been started. In this drive, a form has been prescribed in consultation with the Controller of Food, Bombay Government. In this form an individual or individuals declare to forego their quota of rice or prefer to take exchange food for rice. This enrolment will help in three ways:
>
> (1) These forms are to be submitted to Controller of Food, who in turn shall make administrative arrangements to see that ration foregone shall not find its way in black market.
>
> (2) A statistical survey of food saved shall be known.
>
> (3) A movement of this type may work psychologically on the minds of people to save food.
>
> At present, these forms are sent to each Suburban Congress to organize in its area to enrol such members. They are also sent to the Principals of Schools and *Khadi* Bhandars in the Suburban District.
>
> There is good response to the scheme and one of the residents of Vile Parle has offered to hand over to the Government 30 to 40 Bengali maunds of rice grown by him and his family in his 2,000 sq. yards. Further in a school in Andheri all the hostel students and the teachers have decided not to draw rice on their ration cards.

Wardha, 21-10-'49 K. G. M.

Literary Competition

Literary contributions, both in English as well as in Sindhi, carrying prizes of Rs. 1001, Rs. 500, and Rs. 200 in English and Rs. 500, Rs. 200, and Rs. 100 in Sindhi, for the first three best entries in each section, are invited on *The causes and consequences of mass migration of Hindus from Sind.* The compositions should contain, substantiated as far as possible with authentic facts and figures, illustrations, and quotations from reliable records, the immediate and remote causes of their migration from Sind, the expediency and probability of returning back, their plans for effective and quick rehabilitation, and suggestions for the preservation of their distinct character and culture including language, best suited to the present changed environments.

30th November, 1949 is the last date for acceptance of contributions. For further particulars apply to the undersigned.

NANIK G. MOTWANE,
Hon. Gen. Secretary,
Sindh Hindu Seva Samiti,
P. B. No. 459, Bombay

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